

PALI LITERATURE IN CAMBODIA

The Khmer Empire, for which historians over the centuries searched, had cradled the most brilliant cultured and advanced civilization of South-East Asia, and stretched from the South China Sea to the Gulf of Siam, including modern Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Thailand.

The Khmer capital of Angkor was founded by Jayavarman II in 802 A.D. and reached the zenith of its development between the tenth and twelfth centuries, the period during which the temples to the gods of the Hindu trinity: Brahma, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, and later to the Buddha, were built. Cambodia had been subject to strong Indian religious and cultural influences from Fu-nan between the second and sixth centuries A.D. In 503 A.D. King Jayavarman of Fu-nan sent an embassy to China with valuable presents, including an image of the Buddha. An inscription by his son, Rudravarman, begins with an invocation to the Buddha and from this time onward the prevalence of Buddhism is proved by it, although a setback occurred in the seventh century when the epigraphic records indicate that Śaivism, not Buddhism, was the predominant religion of the country. This is borne out by the fact that the very few kings of Cambodia of whom we possess any epigraphic records were followers of Buddhism. However, the Emperor Yaśovarman, who ruled at the end of the ninth century, established a large monastery called Sugatāśrama for the Buddhist monks and elaborate regulations were laid down for its smooth running. Sūryavarman I, in the eleventh century, was a Buddhist, because he held the posthumous title *Nirvāṇapada*, but his inscription on a temple in Prakhān¹ begins with an invocation to Śiva in the first verse and to the Buddha in the second.

Several inscriptions on the temple known as Prasat Ta Keo² in honour of Yogīśvara Pañjita, the guru of King Sūryavarman, begin by invoking Śiva and Viṣṇu and refer to offerings made to those gods. Jayavarman VII (1181-1201), perhaps the greatest king of Cambodia, was a Buddhist and the Ta Prohm inscription, dated 1186, gives a detailed list of his magnificent donations to

this Vihāra.³ The merits of these wholesome deeds were transferred to the king's mother so that she might benefit from the power of the blessings of the Buddha.⁴ In addition to the kings mentioned above, ministers like Kavīndrārimathana and Kīrtipāṇḍita both belonged to the tenth century and were ardent Buddhists. The latter claimed to have 'lighted again the torch of the True Law. . . which the evils of the world had extinguished'. The form of Buddhism referred to is early Mahāyāna, but if we take the epigraphic data as a whole, it is clear that Buddhism never became a dominant religion until the time of Jayavarman VII. He was a devout Buddhist who received the posthumous title *Mahāparamasauṅgata* and who held a record for the founding of religious institutions.⁵

During the reign of King Śrīndravāmadeva, in an inscription dated 1308 and written in Pali,⁶ reference is made to the Theravāda form of Buddhism. The state of religion in Cambodia is described by Cheu Ta-kun who visited the country in 1296 and recorded that Theravāda Buddhism was in a flourishing state at this time. This position directly resulted from the influence of Siam that gradually transformed the Buddhism of Cambodia. Although the Mahāyāna continued as a powerful sect up to the end of the thirteenth century, the political dominance of the Siamese in Cambodia established the supremacy of the Theravāda which remained the only religion of the people until the Vietnamese-backed invasion in 1975.

Cambodian Theravāda Buddhism was sustained and influenced by Burma, Ceylon and Siam and became inseparable from Pali literature. Although Buddhism had first been introduced to Indo-China in the fifth century, literary works in both Sanskrit and Pali did not penetrate into Cambodia until the twelfth century. The Khmer brought books and copied from their former subjects, the Siamese, who had already adopted Pali as their religious language. In addition to these works, indigenous scholars began to compose original treatises or produce local recensions of traditional Pali books. A large collection of such works and some of their translations are now preserved in Paris⁷ and my intention is to elucidate some of them in this paper. Without precise details of their provenance, however, it is impossible to ascribe these works to wholly Khmer authors. A majority of them

may well have been composed in Siam, but we must await more ample information to enable any doubts regarding origins to be resolved.

I. Biography

The *Pathamasambodhi* describes the life of the Buddha in considerable detail from the time of hermit Sumedha when he received the first 'prediction' (*vyākarana*) from the Buddha Dipaṅkara until his last birth as Prince Siddhattha when he attained to enlightenment (*sambodhi*), carried on his preaching ministry for 45 years and entered *parinibbāna* at the age of 80. The work has been divided into fourteen chapters beginning with the *Tusitavagga* which describes how the Bodhisatta was invited to take birth in the human world when he was in the Tusita ('contented') heaven, and ends with the *Parinibbānakathā*, which describes how the Exalted One attained to *parinibbāna*. It has further explained how the Elder Upagupta obtained release from the spell of Māra.

The style is weak and the materials have been borrowed from the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, *Buddhavāraṇa* and *Mahāparinibbānasutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. The authorship has been ascribed to a thera named Suvaṇṇaramsi, although the text was substantially revised by the seventh Saṅgharāja of Siam, Phra Paramanuchit Chinoros (d. 1853). An alternative title is *Pathamābhisambodhivitthārakathā*.

The *Vivāhamahāgala*, also called *Maṅgalavivāha* or *Vivācamāṅgala*, though a work in itself, appears as the first chapter of the *Pathamasambodhi*. It opens with the life of the Buddha with special reference to the wedding of Prince Siddhattha and Princess Yasodharā. Then follows a copious description of the First Council (*saṅgāyana*) which was held at Rājagaha immediately after the Buddha's demise, for the settlement of Dhamma and Vinaya. The last section deals with an apocryphal story of two kings, Janādhipati and Sīhatanu by name, who accompanied their queens on a pleasure-trip to the great kingdom of Devasaṅkara. The author's name has been given at the end as Mahāsena.

The *Sampiṇḍita-Mahānidāna*,⁸ which is known in Sri Lanka as

Mahāsampiṇḍitanidāna, deals with the inception in the remote past (*dūrenidāna*), the inception in the near past (*avidūrenidāna*), and the inception in the present (*santikenidāna*) of the life of the Buddha. This work is based on the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. The biography continues until the *Mahāparinibbāna*, followed by an account of the distribution of the Buddha's relics. The author then describes how the Arahant Mahākassapa passed away at the age of 120 and how his body will remain lying in the Kukkuṭasampāta mountain until its cremation at the time of the future Buddha Metteyya. This story is not extant anywhere else in Theravāda literature.⁹

The *Bimbābhilāya* [Sutta] (or *Bimbābhilābhavarṇanā*) relates the story of Bimbādevī,¹⁰ the consort of Prince Siddhattha. It says that the Buddha paid a first visit to Kapilavatthu, mainly for the purpose of discoursing with Bimbādevī on the dangers of harbouring selfish desire (*lobha*), hate (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). It further tells how Prince Siddhattha was so loving to Princess Bimbādevī that he renounced his palace in order to search for the truth, which was regarded as the true gift for her. Having found it, he presented it to her (in the form of this 'sutta') through which she finally experienced supramundane happiness.

The *Amatarasadhārā*¹¹ ('bearing the stream of nectar', i.e. *Nibbāna*) is a *ṭīkā* on the thera Kassapa's *Anāgatavāraṇa*,¹² a poem of about 150 stanzas giving an account of the future Buddha Metteyya.¹³ The *Gandhavāraṇa*¹⁴ mentions an Upatissa, a monk from Ceylon, as the author of the *Anāgatavāraṇaṭṭhakathā*; Malalasekera has identified this Upatissa with the author of the *Bodhivāraṇa*¹⁵ until more evidence is forthcoming.¹⁶ The colophon of the *Amatarasadhārā* states: 'The *Amatarasadhārā*, the commentary on the *Anāgata-Buddhavāraṇa* written by Upatissa, is ended'.¹⁷ This statement leads us to the conclusion that the author of this work is definitely the author of the *Bodhivāraṇa*, which has been assigned to the tenth century.¹⁸ Possibly what we have here is a different version of the same *Anāgatavāraṇaṭṭhakathā* prepared in Cambodia under the title of *Amatarasadhārā* based on Upatissa's commentary.

The *Mahāratanabimbavāraṇa* (Epoch of the Great Jewel Image) begins with a short biography of the thera Nāgasena who was born 500 years after the Buddha's *Mahāparinibbāna*.¹⁹ It is

disclosed in this history that a Cambodian emerald (*marakata*) Buddha image (at present in Thailand)²⁰ was made by Nāgasena, a celebrated Buddhist teacher whose famous discussion with the Greek king Menandros (Milinda) is recorded in the *Milindapañha*. This chronicle states that the image was first brought to Ayuthia, thence to the city of Pakar, from there to the city of Jirāya or Jamrāya, and then eventually taken to the city of Puriya or Puñjaya. The work ends with Nāgasena's prediction regarding the *marakata* Buddha image.

II. Works on Vinaya

The *Ādikamma*²¹ ('Original Offences'), the provenance and authorship of which are unknown, is concerned with the gravest offences (*garukāpatti*) of the *pārājikās*²² beginning with the story of the monk Sudinna. Duly ordained, Sudinna returned to his former wife and, in order to fulfil her eagerness to procure a child for their inheritance, at her request he had intimate relations with her. In due course a son was born who was called Bījaka. Thus Sudinna committed this *pārājika* offence for the first time in the Saṅgha. Sudinna, however, was not considered to be guilty of the offence because he was an *ādikammika*.²³ The topic of one of the dilemmas in the *Milindapañha* is the Buddha's censure of Sudinna.²⁴ The *Ādikamma* deals extensively with this first and foremost Vinaya rule and also with other stories related to the subject.

The *Catupārisuddhasīla* is a short work which gives an exposition of the four purificatory virtues: i. those of the *Pati-mokkha*²⁵ restraint (*Pātimokkhasīla*); ii. restraint of sense faculties (*indriyasamvaraśīla*); iii. purification of livelihood (*ājīvapārisuddhīśīla*); and iv. those concerning the requisites (*paccayasannissītasīla*). The author has taken his materials mainly from the *Stulaniddesa* of the *Visuddhimagga*.²⁶

The *Mahāvipāka* begins with an explanation of the four purificatory virtues (*catupārisuddhīśīla*) one by one, and ends with an interpretation of the monastic rules (*āpattis*) illustrated in the *Pātimokkha*. The title of the book was so called because banishment from the monastery by its supporters would be

another grave consequence of transgressing the rules.

The *Ovādānusāsanā* deals with basic advice and admonitions for newly-ordained novices (*sāmañeras*) and bhikkhus as a *memoria technica* of the Vinaya. It vividly explains how to use the necessary requisites (*paccaya*), such as robes, begging bowl, etc., and how to perform the *Kaṭhina* ceremony. In the colophon it is said that this was written at the request of Phra Vanarat, the Saṅgharāja of Siam (fl. 1720). Although the author is not known he must have been a member of the Order well-versed in the *Vinayapiṭaka*.

The *Suddhantaparivāsa*²⁷ is a concise manual composed by a monk presumably well-versed in the *Vinayapiṭaka* for the benefit of the monk who remembered neither the number of days he had concealed the *saṅghādisesa*²⁸ nor the number of *saṅghādisesas* he had committed, but wished to 'clean' (*suddha*) himself by undergoing the *parivāsa*²⁹ and *mānatta*³⁰ penances. The text formulates the ecclesiastical 'acts' necessary for the 'expiation' of the monk, and ends with the following aspiration: 'In case I have, today, wronged in aught through eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, speech or mind, I will never do it again. May all offences be vanquished'.

The *Sāsanāyuppakarana* deals with the disciplinary code (*Vinaya*) of monks and the duration of the Buddha's dispensation (*sāsana*). It consists of two parts, the first written in Pali at the beginning, and the second having the same text with a literal paraphrase³¹ in Burmese. It also contains an explanation of the system of dividing the Saṅgha's property: when the Saṅgha receives a field, estate, bequest or garden, it should be divided into three portions, one for the Saṅgha, one for the head of the Saṅgha and one for the *cetiya*.³²

The *Saṅgītikathā* throws light on the first Council (*Saṅgāyanā*) held near the Sattapāṇi Cave in Rājagaha immediately after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. It met under the presidency of Mahākassapa and with the full patronage of King Ajātasattu. A detailed description is given in the book as to how five hundred monks, competent in the Dhamma and Vinaya, were selected for the Council. The work ends with the following verse: 'So long as Vinaya remains, the Sāsana will last'.

III. Doctrinal works

The *Bojjhavagapāṭhabhāvanā*, which deals with the seven factors of enlightenment, is based on the *Mahākassapabojjhavīga Sutta*.³³ It is greatly influenced by the commentary on the *Sāratthasamuccaya* which in turn is a commentary on the *Catubhāṇavāra*.³⁴ After elucidating the seven factors the *Cullahatthipadopama Sutta*³⁵ is quoted. The text ends with a narrative describing how Emperor Asoka listened to the Buddha's teaching as discoursed by sāmanera Nigrodha and how, as a consequence, he became a Buddhist.³⁶

The *Caturārakkhā*³⁷ is a short Pali poem of twenty-nine stanzas describing those meditational exercises which are known as the four protections, as the title precisely denotes: i. the recollection of the Buddha (*Buddhānussati*); ii. loving-kindness (*mettā*); iii. the impurities of the body (*asubha*); iv. mindfulness of death (*marañānussati*).³⁸ Although these stanzas, along with some other *suttas*, are recited daily by monks in Sri Lanka, neither the author of the poem nor its date is known. In Cambodia and Thailand, however, and though unsubstantiated, it has been attributed to Buddhaghosācariya, the celebrated commentator on the Pali Canon, who lived in the fifth century A.D. Undoubtedly, the author was a member of the Order—probably a Sinhalese monk well-versed in the *Piṭakas*. The stanzas show a great depth of religious and metaphysical learning. They also constitute an earnest exhortation to monks, encouraging them to lead a pious and contemplative life. Their setting is exquisite and the style of the poem is clear. I give below the first couple of verses which exemplify the style and subject-matter of the poem:

*Buddhānussati mettā ca asubham marañassati,
iti imā caturārakkhā bhikkhu bhāveyya sīlavā.*

*Anantavitthāragunam gunato 'nuttaram munim
bhāveyya buddhimā bhikkhu Buddhānussatim ādito.*

The *Caturārakkhā-āṭṭhakathā* is a short commentary on the *Caturārakkhā*, possibly originating in Cambodia. In commencing this commentary with four verses the author pays homage to the Buddha and states that he will explain the four protections (*caturārakkhā*) in brief which should be listened to attentively by

good people. At the conclusion of their explanation, the author aspires thus: 'By the diligent practice of these four protections one may renounce the world and embark on fulfilling the perfections (*pāramitā*)'. An exposition of the ten perfections immediately follows. The style and language are not at all elegant and the authorship of the work has been attributed to a member of the Order, Phra Nāṇamaṅgala by name.

In the *Dasapuññakiriyavatthu* the author, so far unidentified, presents the tenfold group of meritorious deeds (*dasakusalakamma*). This group is explained under ten headings as follows: i. charity (*dāna*); ii. morality (*sīla*); iii. mental culture (*bhāvanā*); iv. reverence (*apacāyana*); v. service (*veyyāvaca*); vi. transference of merit (*pattidāna*); vii. rejoicing in others' merits (*anumodanā*), viii. listening to the doctrine (*dhammasaṇa*); ix. teaching the doctrine (*dhammadesanā*); x. straightening one's views (*diṭṭhujukamma*).³⁹

The *Dasavatthu*⁴⁰ is a long metrical work divided into ten sections dealing with the good results (*ānisamsa*) of generously giving the following ten things: i. food (*anna*); ii. drink (*pāna*); iii. clothes (*vattha*); iv. seats and vehicles (*yāna*); v. garlands and flowers (*mālā*); vi. unguents (*vilepana*); vii. perfumed smoke (*dhūpagandha*); viii. beds (*sayana*); ix. residences (*āvāsa*); x. lights (*padīpa*). The unknown author opens the work by saluting the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha with three elegant verses, of which the first runs as follows: 'I salute the Buddha of infinite knowledge who is supreme in the world and who attained complete enlightenment, defeating Māra with his great army'.⁴¹ This text sheds considerable light on the merits of practising generosity based on the *Nikāyas* and the good results of liberal giving (*dāna*) illustrated with a number of stories from the commentaries.

The *Ānisamsa*⁴² is a short work which illustrates the efficacy of chanting *paritta*, especially the *Maṅgala Sutta*, and describes Mahāmoggallāna's visits to the Avīci hell and the Devalokas by means of his miraculous powers, the results of chanting, preaching and practising the Dhamma, the results of wholesome and unwholesome deeds. It ends with an interpretation of the eight miseries of life (*āṭṭha samvejanīyavatthu*).⁴³

The *Indasāva*⁴⁴ is a kind of short *dhāraṇī*⁴⁵ which consists of a number of syllables beginning with *Indasāva*. It concludes with an explanation of the ten perfections (*dasapāramitā*).

The *Kāyanagara*, sometimes called *Kāyanagara Sutta*, is a treatise dealing with some teachings of the Buddha. To begin with, the author compares the body to a city, hence the title *Kāyanagara* (City of the Body). The threefold training (*tividhasikkhā*): higher virtue (*adhisīla*), higher consciousness (*adhicitta*), higher understanding (*adhipaññā*) are also set forth together with mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasati*), the movement of wind in the body, such as pain in the limbs, pain in the stomach, pain in the back, etc. After explaining the defilements (*kilesas*), the author next shows how to overcome them by practising charity (*dāna*), morality (*sīla*) and meditation (*bhāvanā*). The defilements are compared to formidable warriors and the nineteen 'beautiful-common' (*sobhanasādhāraṇa*) mental states to wise men. The text concludes with an explanation of mind (*citta*) according to the Abhidhamma.

The *Mahābuddhaguna* is a short work in praise of nine great virtues of the Buddha.⁴⁶ The second part is devoted to an exposition of the ten perfections (*dasapāramitā*).

The first part of the text entitled *Mahākappalokasanthāna-paññatti* explains that the Exalted One expounded the impermanence (*anicca*) of conditioned things in the world while he was dwelling in a pavilion in the Mango Grove near the city of Vesāli. The second part deals with the threefold division of the sphere of the Buddha (*Buddhakkhetta*).⁴⁷

The *Maṅgala-āṭṭhatthasāra-āṭṭhakathā* is a short commentary on the *Lakkhana Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* which deals with the thirty-two marks on the body of the superman which were possessed by the Buddha. Following this the author gives an exposition of the seven noble treasures (*sattāriyadhana*).⁴⁸ The third section of the book deals with the seven factors of enlightenment (*sattabojjhāga*).⁴⁹ In the colophon the author calls himself a king, *Buddhapādamaṅgalamahādeva* by name, who wrote it with the aspiration to become a Buddha (*Idam Buddhapādamaṅgalamahādevarājena likhitam Buddhabhāvam patthentena*). At the end, the name of the scribe of the present manuscript is given as *Mahāsuvaṇṇa*.

The *Pañcagatidīpanī*,⁵⁰ also known as *Pālipañcagati*, is a description, with relevant quotations from the *Tipiṭaka*, of the five destinies (*pañcagati*) of sentient beings after death: i. purgatory

(*niraya*); ii. animal kingdom (*tiracchānayoni*); iii. ghost-realm (*pettivisaya*); iv. human world (*manussaloka*); v. heavenly world (*devaloka*).⁵¹ It consists of five *khanḍas* (chapters), such as *nirayakhaṇḍa*, etc. Neither the date of composition nor the author's name is given.

The *Pañcagatidīpanīyatāthakathā*, also known as the *Pañcagatidīpanī*, is a commentary on the *Pañcagatidīpanī* which gives a vivid account of the five destinies. The work ends with an explanation of wholesome (*kusala*) and unwholesome (*akusala*) deeds.

The *Tiṇṇakavatthu*, also called *Tiṇṇapālakavatthu*, deals with the 'privileges' (*ānisamṣa*) bestowed on the giver of *kaṭhina*, which is a special robe (*cīvara*) offered to a monk in an ecclesiastical ceremony held at the end of the rainy retreat (*vassāvāsa*). This offering is regarded as a supremely meritorious deed (*puññakamma*). The 'privileges' are illustrated with the story of a devotee named *Tiṇṇaka* who was a weaver at the time of the Buddha Kassapa and who was fortunate enough to be able to offer a *kaṭhina-cīvara* to the Buddha whenever he wished. Hence the work is called *Tiṇṇakavatthu*, and ends thus: *Kaṭhinānisamṣakathā niṭṭhitā*.

The *Trailokaviniścaya* is now extant in Khmer as well as Thai. However it is conjectured by some scholars that it is a translation of an original work entitled *Tilokavinicchaya* which was composed in Pali by pandits called Phraya, Prijā and others in 1790 at the command of Rāma I of Siam. It opens with a description of the Buddha's virtues, teaching and the Order of monks. Then follows a cosmic interpretation of the three worlds: the world of form (*rūpaloka*) or earth (*bhūmiloka*), the world of beings (*sattaloka*) and the world of space (*ākāsaloka*). The author then describes the havoc in the world (*lokavināśa*) resulting from the gradual appearance of seven subsequent suns at the end of the aeon (*kappa*). This section is presumably based on the *Satasuriya Sutta*.⁵² At the end of the work, the results (*vipāka*) of good and bad *kammas* are given.

The *Yasasassatha* opens with a *dhāraṇī* including syllables such as *paṭhamam dānapāramī, dutiyam sīlapāramī* and so on, referring to the ten perfections. This text concludes with an explanation of the Three Refuges (*tisarāṇa*).

The *Cullatīkā-Visuddhimagga* is an explanatory annotation of

difficult words and passages in Buddhaghosa's encyclopaedic work, *Visuddhimagga*. In Thailand, this *ṭīkā* is called *Saṅkhepatthajotanī-Visuddhimagga-Cūlaṭīkā*, and the title of this work is *Saṅkhepatthajotanī* according to the following verse, which comes at the beginning of the colophon:

*Yāyām Visuddhimaggassa āraddhā atthavaṇṇanā
ettāvatā gaṭā niṭṭham sā Saṅkhepatthajotanī.*

The text ends with a line which also refers to the title, as follows: *Iti Saṅkhepatthajotanī Visuddhimaggāṭīkā samattā*. Here the unknown author says: 'Just as I have accomplished this work at the request made by fellow-monks, may all beings fulfil aspirations in their minds!'

The *Samāśarūpadīpanī*, also known as *Yojanāsamāsa*, is a grammar dealing with nominal compounds (*saṃāsa*).

IV. Jātaka literature

The Jātaka stories from the *Khuddaka-nikāya* of the Pali Canon were very popular in Cambodia after the establishment of the Theravāda Sāsana. Some of them were presented in dramatic form, thereby impressing upon the people the importance of a moral life and the exemplary career of the Bodhisatta in his previous births, while offering entertainment by means of music and dancing. Examples of such jātakas included the *Bhūridatta* (543), *Mahosadha* (or *Mahā-Ummaga*, 546) and *Vessantara* (547). Some monks even wrote commentaries in order to elucidate the original stories, one example having been preserved in the form of the *Mahāvessantara-āṭṭhakathā*.⁵³

A collection of fifty apocryphal jātakas called *Paññāsajātaka*,⁵⁴ composed in Pali in northern Siam (15th and 16th centuries), was published with a Cambodian translation (Phnom Penh 1953). The original text of the first twenty-five stories was subsequently printed by the Siam Society (5 vols., 1952-62), which also produced parallel booklets containing the Cambodian translation.⁵⁵ Apart from these, a number of popular jātakas were also composed in Siam, Laos or Cambodia, e.g. *Stīla-* (or *Stīlavimamsaka-* or *Stīlavanāga-*), *Suddhakamma-* and *Vijādhara-* (or *Vijñadhamma-*) jātakas.

The *Dhānañjayajātaka* describes the former life of the Bodhisatta when he was a king called Dhānañjaya, a tale which also occurs in the *Vidhurapanditajātaka*.⁵⁶ On the basis of this prose work, a Pali poem in ten chapters (*khaṇḍas*) has been composed entitled the *Gāthālokaneyya*. It begins with the chapter called 'Entering the city' (*nagarapavesakhaṇḍa*) and ends with a chapter on the 'twelve questions' (*dvādaśapaññhakhaṇḍa*). The last chapter contains a copious description of the norm of kingship, usually given as a set of ten undertakings (*dasarājadhamma*): i. generosity (*dāna*); ii. morality (*stīla*); iii. liberality (*pariccāga*); iv. straightforwardness (*ajava*); v. gentleness (*maddava*); vi. self-restraint (*tapa*); vii. non-anger (*akkodha*); viii. non-violence (*avihimsā*); ix. patience (*khanti*); and x. non-aggression (*avirodhitā*).⁵⁷

The *Mahāvessantara-āṭṭhakathā* (or *Mahāvessantara-Jātaka-āṭṭhakathā*) is a commentary on the *Vessantara-jātaka*,⁵⁸ the final and most popular jātaka in the canonical collection. Dated 1351, the commentary follows the original thirteen sections, beginning with the *Dasavaragāthā*, and was used when preaching sermons. Chapters 10 and 11, *Sakkapabbam* and *Mahārājapabbam*, were often employed as separate texts.

The *Sivijayajātaka* is a biography of a king (Sivijaya by name), divided into fifteen chapters (*khaṇḍas*), which comprise a certain number of questions dealing with the 'perfection of charity' (*dānapāramitā*). The first chapter tells of the search for a wife (*dārapariyesana*) and shows Sivijaya's exemplary life. This work was written either at the latter end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth. It seems that in the eighteenth century an abridged version was written as a drama by some foreign missionaries.⁵⁹ At the close of the work there is mention of the *devadhamma*,⁶⁰ whilst it ends with the following words: *Sivijayanāṭakam niṭṭhitam*.

The *Mahājambupatisarājā*, also called *Jambupati Sutta* in Thailand,⁶¹ is an apocryphal story about a king named Jambupati. Its gist is as follows: Once the Exalted One was dwelling in the Bamboo Grove near Rājagaha. Then there was a king called Jambupati. At the time of his birth a golden pillar eighteen hands in height arose. On the day when he was taken out of the chamber where he was born pots of treasures arose from the earth. One day he went with his royal retinue to the Buddha and,

by listening to his discourse, all of them attained to the four paths and fruitions, and the members of his army who were guarding the palace learnt of the five powers (*pañcabala*)⁶² and followed them.

A manuscript of the *Milinda-ṭīkā*,⁶³ also known as the *Madhuratthapakasint*, was acquired by the Danish scholar, Poul Tuxen, during his visit to Thailand in 1922-4 and subsequently deposited in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Of the 188 leaves in Khmer script, only 46 actually comment upon the post-canonical text, *Milinda-pañha*. The remaining leaves concentrate on the jātakas and have no special value. That section referring directly to the Mil, however, resolves a number of problems concerning canonical sources utilized by the unknown compiler of the latter and, significantly, is the only Pali work to enumerate the 80 minor marks of the Buddha apart from the *Jinālakarāṭikā*.⁶⁴ The author is mentioned as being Mahātipiṭaka Cūlābhayaṭṭhā. The place and date of composition are difficult to determine but, from internal evidence, it might just possibly have been written in Ceylon in either 1250 or 1328. In view of a specific location being mentioned, i.e. Bingaraṭṭha, identified with Chiengmai, it is more likely to have been composed there, in 1474, under the influence of the *Sthalasāsana*. What does remain in doubt is whether the author was Cambodian or Siamese since the latter would have used Khmer script at the time.

V. Devotional texts

Apart from the traditional collection,⁶⁵ there is a different kind of 'book of protection' (*paritta*)⁶⁶ intended to be recited for the purpose of obtaining protection from all misfortunes and dangers. It contains a collection of apocryphal *suttas* such as *Mahākūmsān-phalaparitta*, *Mahācakkavālaparitta*, *Sojasamāṅgala-paritta* and so on, composed by teachers of old in Cambodia and neighbouring countries. The work comes to an end with a *dhāraṇī* invoking the names of certain deities.

The *Bāhūnṣa*, *Bāhūnṣa-cintāmaṇiratana* or *Bāhūnīṭkā* is an invocatory work in ten chapters: i. Māra; ii. Yakkha Ālavaka; iii. Nālāgiri Elephant; iv. Aṅgulimāla Thera; v. Ciñcā; vi. Sundarī;

vii. Saccaka; viii. Nandopananda, ix. Brahmanimantanika; x. Conclusion.

Possibly connected with the foregoing is the *Bāhūnīṣahassa*, the first word of the first stanza among eight collectively entitled *Buddhajayamarigala*. This describes the Bodhisatta sitting on the jewelled seat (*ratanapallarīka*) under the Bodhi tree where he defeated Māra.

The palm-leaf manuscript of the *Mahādibbamanta*⁶⁷ was located by P.S. Jaini in the National Museum, Bangkok in 1961, and it is worth recalling that this text is no longer used in either Cambodia or Thailand. Consisting of 108 verses on 48 folios, all in Khmer script, it is undated with no mention of author or scribe. Its title is indicated only once in the colophon whilst *dibbamanta* occurs in the text on only a single occasion. The language is corrupt with the addition of unusual spellings, Sanskrit and hybrid words. The metre is *anuṣṭubh* with a single verse in *upajātī*. The verses are divided into the following themes: 1-4. salutations to the Triple Gem; 5-9. proclaiming victory to arahants, pacceka-buddhas and (named) gods including the four Guardians of the Quarters; 10-13. glorification of the Buddha's 108 auspicious marks; 14-17. glorification of the ten perfections and the Buddha's victory under the Bodhi tree; 18-20. description of a *manḍala* consisting of the Buddha and eight chief disciples; 21-26. the same but comprising ten Buddhas; 27-33. the *Canda-paritta*; 34-37. the *Suriya-paritta*; 38-39. a mantra made up of the words *hulu hulu hulu svāhā*; 40-52. enumeration of the nine *grahas* (planets), twelve Indian *māsas* (months), twelve animals indicating the Chinese twelve-year cycle (*nakṣatras*), twenty-seven constellations (*nakṣatras*) and the twelve signs of the zodiac (*rāśis*)—the only complete list to appear in a Pali text; 53-55. invocation to eight *devīs* occupying the eight points of the universe; 56-62. a prayer for the rain of wealth that benefited Jotika, Menḍaka, Dhanañjaya, Uggata, Jaṭila, Cittaka and Mandhātu (who were renowned for their wealth and merit); 63-77. miscellania; 78-89. invocation to certain gods (including Hara, Harihara and Rāma); 90-98. description of the efficacy of the *dibbamanta* resulting from its recitation, particularly when marching into battle or in counteracting the enemy's magical devices; 99-108. concluding valedictory verses.

The Cambodian origin of this text can be inferred from such facts as the popularity of the cult of Harihara in Cambodia prior to the introduction of Buddhism; the similar popularity of Dharanī (Earth goddess), current only in Cambodia and Siam, in the former of which she was known as Phra Thorni and was often depicted on Buddhist sculpture—this is the only Pali text to refer not only to her but also to Venateyya (Garuḍa) whose cult was particularly important in imperial Angkor; the reference to the Chinese twelve-year cycle, the earliest evidence of which practice is found in a Khmer inscription by Sūryavarman I (1039) and which was subsequently adopted by the Siamese (where the earliest evidence is found in an inscription of 1183, again in Khmer). The text may be ascribed to the late mediaeval period in view of the incorporation of six verses (17, 21-23 and 107-8) discovered in a collection of non-canonical *paritta* texts popular in Burma and Ceylon.⁶⁸

* * * * *

As intimated in the Introduction, further research needs to be undertaken before we can have a complete picture of the indigenous Buddhist literature of Indo-China. In this connection it is worth recalling the meagre researches that have been made by French nationals, virtually the only scholars to have taken any interest in classical Khmer studies. The 'Résident Supérieur' in Cambodia, Adhémard Leclère (1853-1917) collected indigenous lives of the Buddha and of Devadatta (*Préas Pathama Sāmpothian* and *Le Sūtra de Tévatat*) and local recensions of the *Mahā-Jinaka* (*Préas Moha-Chīnok*), *Nimarāja* (*Niméa-Réach-Chéadak*) and *Dīni* (*Préas Dīmē Chéadak*) *jātakas* and translated these under the title *Les Livres sacrés du Cambodge*.⁶⁹

The late François Martini was Lecturer in Cambodian at l'École des langues orientales vivantes in Paris. Specialising in non-canonical or apocryphal Buddhist literature, he translated the *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa* and *Anāgatabuddhavamsa*.⁷⁰ Until her retirement his wife, Ginette Terral-Martini, taught Pali at l'École pratique des hautes études (the Sorbonne) and continued in his footsteps by translating the *Velāmajātaka*,⁷¹ *Pañcabudhabyākarana*⁷² and *Pamsukūladānānisamsakathā*.⁷³

L'École française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi (now situated in Paris) encouraged general research into the field of Indo-Chinese

studies. Its *Bulletin* (BEFEO) continues to reflect this interest although Buddhist, especially the local Pali, texts have rarely attracted the attention of scholars.

There is, therefore, an urgent need to conduct such an investigation. Indo-China is virtually forbidden territory to outside scholars, whilst little interest has been evinced in Thailand. However, the facilities exist in Paris and other western European university libraries (and possibly in private collections) and I earnestly hope that the present paper⁷⁴ will encourage the pursuit of independent research into this fascinating, but hitherto unknown, sphere.

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Notes

1 R.C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1953, p. 360.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 351 foll.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 459 foll.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 479.

5 439 erudite pandits were appointed and 970 scholars studied under them. The food and other necessities of life were supplied for educational and similar institutions. *Ibid.*, pp. 460 foll.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 533.

7 E.g. in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the library of the École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, where I consulted the following catalogues: A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanscrits et pālis*, II, 1908; Au Chhieng, *Catalogue du fonds khmer*, 1953.

8 Ven. Dr. H. Ñāṇavāsa of Sri Lanka is in the course of editing this text for the PTS.

9 See *The Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas and the Dasabodhisattupattikathā* (= DBK), ed. and tr. H. Saddhātissa, London, PTS, 1975, pp. 43-5.

10 Bimbādevī: Ja II 392 foll; Sv 422. She was also called by descriptive epithets which were regarded as her names: Rāhulamātā (Vin I 82); Bhaddakaccānā (Bv XXVI 15; Mhv II 24); Yasodhārā (Bv-a 245, Divy 253); Bimbāsundarī (Ja VI 478), etc. See *DPPN*.

11 In Thailand this is called *Amatadhārānāgatavamsa-āṭhakathā*. An alternative title is *Amatarasadhārānāgata-Buddhavamsa-vanṇanā*.

12 Kassapa was a poet who lived in the Cola country according to the *Sāsanavamsadīpa* (V 204). The *Mohavichchedanī*, *Vimaticchedanī*

and *Buddhavamsa* (which is different from the canonical work with the same name) have been ascribed to him. According to the Burmese tradition, he was a native of Ceylon. See *JPTS*, 1910, p. 126, and Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, London, RAS, 1910, repr. 1966, p. 76, n. 2.

13 For details of the Metteyya cult, see *DBK*, 27–44.

14 Gv 67; 72.

15 *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, London, RAS, 1928, repr. Colombo, M.D. Gunasena, 1958, pp. 143, 160.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 160.

17 *Iti Upatissatherena racitā Amatarasadhārānāgata-Buddhavamsaṭhakathā nīṭhītā*.

18 *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 143.

19 It is said in the Mil, but not anywhere else in Pali literature, that the Buddha on his death-bed prophesied that the discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena would take place about 500 years after his *parinibbāna*, Mil 3.

20 Cf. *Jinakālamāṭipakarāṇa*, pp. 105 foll.

21 Over 40 years ago (c. 1930) the *Ādikamma* was translated into Khmer and published by the Khmer Tipiṭaka Translation Committee. See *Khmer Vinayapiṭaka*, vols I and II. In Thailand this is called *Ādikammappāli*.

22 This offence causes whosoever commits it to fall from the state of bhikkhu by making him defeated, the penalty being expulsion from the Saṅgha. For details see *BD*, I, pp. XXV foll.

23 Vin III 11–21; See Sp 270. Ādikammika: the original doer of the offence of 'defeat' (*pārājikāpatti*), who was instrumental in causing the Buddha to enjoin this rule. As such he was not guilty of the *pārājikā* of the act of intercourse (*methunadhamma*).

24 Mil 170 foll.

25 Rules of the Community of monks. The *Suttavibhaṅga* contains 227 rules for bhikkhus and a further 84 rules for bhikkhunīs. They are known as the 'Two Codes' (*dve māṭikā*) or the *Pātimokkha*. The *Pātimokkha* is recited by bhikkhus on Uposatha days of the full- and new-moon.

26 Vism 1–58.

27 Tr. into Cambodian by Prah Dhammalikkhita Mung-Ses. In Thailand this work has been incorporated into the *Vuttānavidhi* as a separate section.

28 The second grade 'offence' in order of gravity. There are altogether thirteen *saṅghādisesas*. The infliction of penalties such as *parivāsa* and *mānatta* and revocation (*abbhāna*) requires the Saṅgha both in the beginning (*ādi*) and the end (*sesa*) to administer the stages of penalty and ultimately rehabilitation. Hence it is called *saṅghādisesa*.

29 In the case where a monk conceals the offence of *saṅghādisesa* for some time, he is required to undergo a *parivāsa* for the period he has concealed it in addition to the six nights of *mānatta* for his 'expiation'.

30 For the 'expiation', the monk who commits an offence of *saṅghādisesa* should inform the Saṅgha and undergo a penance which debars him from enjoying the usual privileges as a monk for a period of six nights. This penance is called *mānatta*.

31 This kind of verbatim translation is called *sanne* in Sinhalese and *nissaya* in Burmese.

32 The *cetiya* is an hemispherical dome of solid masonry which is also called *stūpa*, *pagoda* or *dāgāba*.

33 S V 79 foll. This is called *Mahākassapatherabojjhārīga* in the *Catubhāṇavāra* which is known in Sri Lanka as *Parittapoththaka* or *Piruvāṇāpota*, ed. Kotmalē Dhammānanda, Colombo, 1930, pp. 30 foll.

34 ed. Doranāgoḍa Nāṇasena, Colombo, 1929.

35 M I 27; 175.

36 For details see *Mhv* V 37–72; *Dīp* VI 34 foll.; VII 12, 31; Sp 45 foll.

37 This is given in the anthology called *Katikāvata saha Banadāhampota* ed. by Maḍugalle Sidhattha, Kandy, 1921, reprinted Colombo, M.D. Gunasena, 1959, pp. 27–9.

38 In Sinhalese these are called *Sataraṇamāṭahan*, i.e. four meditation subjects (*kammaṭṭhāna*). For a detailed study see *Vism*, Ch. VII, *Buddhānussati*; Ch. IX, *Mettā*; Ch. VI, *Asubha*; Ch. VIII, *Maraṇānussati*.

39 For a similar study of these ten see the *Upāsakajanālāṅkāra*, ed. H. Saddhātissa, London, PTS, 1965, pp. 12–15, 285–310.

40 Briefly mentioned in the Gv, another Burmese text, the *Pitakatthamain*, states that this work was composed in Ceylon by the 15th century. See *Le Dasavatthuppakarāṇa*, ed. and tr. J. Ver Eecke, Paris, Publ. de l'EFEO, vol. CVIII, 1976. Notwithstanding the foregoing, this text is still claimed to be of Khmer or Siamese origin in certain quarters.

41 *Yo sannisinno varabodhimūle/Mārassa senam mahatim vijeyya / Samboḍhim āgañchi anantañāgo / Lokuttamo tam paṇamāmi Buddham*.

42 According to J. Ver Eecke, *op. cit.*, this is a type of popular Buddhist literature peculiar to Sri Lanka and S.E. Asia. For detailed examples of 'advantages' accruing to meritorious deeds, see entry in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Fasc. 4, Colombo, Govt. of Ceylon, 1965, pp. 676–8, where details of the *Ānisamsa Sutta* and (two) *vaggas* from the *Anguttara-nikāya* are also given. Of unknown authorship is the *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa*, an anthology of such literature.

43 i. Birth; ii. old age; iii. disease; iv. death; v. misery in the *apāyas*; vi. misery caused by *samsāra* in the past; vii. misery at present and in the future stages; viii. search for food. Cf. *Mhv* I 4; 23; 62; *Pv-a* 1; 22; 32; 39; 76.

44 *Sāva* means a letter, syllable or historic document in Cambodian.

45 A mnemonic formula composed of the salient syllables of a recited *sutta* enabling the devotee to remember its essence (from *dharati*,

'to bear in mind', 'to know by heart').

46 M I 37; A III 285. For details see Vism, Ch. VII.

47 Threecold division: i. the sphere extending to 10,000 world-systems (*cakkavāla*) which quakes at the moments of conception, birth, enlightenment, first sermon and *parinibbāna* of the Buddha is called the realm of origin (*jātikkhetta*); ii. the region extending to a billion world-spheres where the power of the Buddha and his discourses, specially *paritta-suttas*, prevails is called the realm of influence (*āñākkhetta*); and iii. the Buddha's mass of sublime teaching which pervades his omniscience (*sabbaññutañña*) is called the realm of object (*visayakkhetta*).

48 i. Confidence (*saddhā*); ii. morality (*sīla*); iii. shame (*hiri*); iv. fear (*ottappa*); v. learning (*suta*); vi. charity (*cāga*); vii. wisdom (*pañña*). See A IV 4 foll; 6 foll.

49 i. Mindfulness (*sati*); ii. investigation of phenomena (*dhammavicaya*); iii. energy (*viriya*); iv. joy (*pīti*); v. calm (*passaddhi*); vi. concentration (*samādhi*); vii. equanimity (*upekkhā*). See A IV 148; S V 71 foll.; 86.

50 Ed. L. Feer, JPTS, 1884, p. 152 foll.

51 See M I 73; D III 234; A IV 459; Nidd II 550; cf. S V 474-7; Vism 552.

52 This *sutta* is also called *Sattasuriyuggamana Sutta* (A IV 100 foll.).

53 A. Cabaton, *op. cit.*

54 H. Saddhātissa, 'Pāli Literature of Thailand' in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht, D. Reidel, 1974, p. 221.

55 Letter from Dorothy H. Fickle in *Buddhist Text Information*, (Inst. for Advanced Studies of World Religions, New York), No. 4, March 1978, p. 9.

56 Ja No. 545.

57 Cf. Ja I 260; 399; II 400; III 320; V 119; 378; A I 159; II 33; III 108; Vin III 89 *passim*. Another set of three mentioned at Ja V 112.

58 Ja VI 479-593 (No. 547).

59 According to another source, however, the Cambodian version, *Lboek Srivijaya*, is attributed to a writer named Srī (1858).

60 Shame (*hiri*) and fear (*ottappa*) are the divine nature. See *Devadhamma Jātaka*, Ja I 126 foll. (No. 6); C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Stories of the Buddha*, London, Chapman & Hall, 1929, p. 8: 'Those who are modest and discreet / On things that are pure intent / The holy men, the lovely men, / These the world calls divine'. For 'Divine natured' (*devadhammiko*), see A III 277.

61 Possibly related to the *Jambudīpavaññanā*.

62 i. Confidence born of knowledge (*saddhā*); ii. energy (*viriya*); iii. mindfulness (*sati*); iv. concentration (*samādhi*); v. wisdom (*pañña*).

63 Ed. P.S. Jaimini, PTS 1961.

64 See *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 110-12.

65 This is an anthology of twenty *suttas* from the *Suttapiṭaka* known

as *Catubhāñavārapāli* by the teachers of old. It is known to Sinhalese Buddhists as the *Pirit Pota*, Book of Protection, ed. Kotmalē Dhammānanda, Colombo, Mahābodhi Press, 1950; tr. Piyadassi Thera, Kandy, BPS, 1975.

66 This has been listed under the title of *Choix de Paritta*, see Au Chhieng, *op. cit.*

67 See P.S. Jaimini, 'Mahādibbamanta: a Paritta manuscript from Cambodia', BSOAS, 28, 1965, pp. 61 foll.

68 v. 17 = v. 2. of the *Mahājayamārgalagāthā*; vv. 21-3 = vv. 2b-5a of the *Cūlajinapāñjara*; vv. 107-8 = the final two verses of the *Jaya-paritta*. These *paritta* texts appear in the appendix, *Upagranthaya*, of the *Pali-Sinhala-pirit-pota*, ed. K. Śrī Prajñāsāra, Colombo, 1956. This composition is based on the *Sārattha-samuccaya* (see Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series, vol. XXVII), a commentary on the *Catubhāñavāra* where twenty *paritta-suttas* are enumerated, as opposed to only six in Mil (150-4). The fourteen apocryphal *suttas* probably originated in 15th century Ceylon and were thence introduced to the mainland by Sinhalese *dhammadūtas*.

69 *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Bibliothèque d'Études), Paris, 1906.

70 BEFEO, Hanoi, 1936.

71 BEFEO, Saigon, 1959.

72 BEFEO, Paris, 1969.

73 'Un Jātaka concernant le dernier repas du Buddha', BEFEO, Paris, 1972.

74 See also H. Saddhātissa, 'Pali Studies in Cambodia', in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*, Gordon Fraser, London, 1980, pp. 242-50.